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ABSTRACT

This booklet reviews South Africa's educational system, apartheid, teacher training, finance, and the role of native and national languages. Under apartheid blacks and whites attend separate schools which prepare them for continued segregation in social and economic spheres. There are four educational systems: the blacks (Bantu) are administered by the national Department of Bantu Education, the coloureds (Mulattos) by the Coloured People's Representative Council, Asians by the Department of Asian Affairs, and whites by four provincial administrations. All students seven to 16 years of age must attend school, and all must learn both official languages, English and Afrikaans. Teachers must be of the same race as the system they teach in. The student-teacher ratio of blacks is almost three times that of whites. Most black teachers have only junior certification (10th grade achievement) whereas all white teachers have graduated from high school and almost half have university degrees. Two major problems in teaching are the overabundance of women teachers and the increasing percentage of secondary teachers who teach courses for which they have had no training. Financial support varies dramatically within the educational systems: state spending per capita for whites is almost 18 times the amount spent for blacks. South Africa has 15 universities. Three are black; only one offers courses in both English and Afrikaans. Currently, efforts are being made to encourage teaching in native languages at elementary and secondary levels. (AV)

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Fastback 90

Education in South Africa

Neville L. and Barbara L. Robertson

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Education in South Africa

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and Barbara L. Robertson

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Apartheid Education

Police Gun Down School Children. Students Burn Down Schools. Black Townships Aflame as Students Go on the Rampage. These are but examples of headlines across major newspapers in innumerable countries, as the world learns for the first time of the unrest in the sprawling urban mass known as Soweto, outside of South Africa's major city, Johannesburg. This social upheaval has been predicted for years by critics around the world as well as in the country itself. Few, if any, however, would have anticipated the form it was to take in June, 1976, but in retrospect the signs have been there for years.

It is often claimed that the educational system of a country mirrors its society. It is extremely doubtful if any country in the world gives greater credence to this claim than does South Africa. The blueprint of "apartheid," preferably called "separate development" by its adherents, spells out in minute detail every aspect of the society, including its complete education system. It is a masterpiece of systematic planning and, above all, it is entrenched in the law of the land. It has often been likened to the Old South's "separate but equal" doctrine, but this easy generalization falls short of the mark. The education system of South Africa was formulated with the sole purpose of preparing its citizens of different ethnic origins for their prescribed roles within their own separate communities. "Separate" it certainly is, but "equal" it was never intended to be. Even the main architect of the grand plan, the late Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, then Minister of Native (black or Bantu) Education, emphatically stated in his address to the Senate of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa on June 7, 1954:

> My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu

> society. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will be called upon to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent for education which has no specified aim, but it is also dishonest to continue it. The effect on the Bantu community we find is the much discussed frustration of educated natives who can find no employment which is acceptable to them. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European.

Equal educational opportunity is the goal for many of the Western industrialized countries. South Africa, too, has such a goal, but to what extent is it realized? It may be useful to examine the opportunities which were present for each of the racial groups living in South Africa in 1976. Educational opportunity will not be analyzed along socioeconomic lines, but rather as regards each ethnic group as determined by law.

Let us take a look at eight young children starting school for the first time and try to assess their chances of obtaining an education over the next 12 years.

Simon Nkosi, a 7-year-old black boy whose home is in Soweto, is in the first session at school. Elizabeth Kanyile, a black neighbor of the same age, has been scheduled into the second session and has to be taken to school by her mother at seven o'clock in the morning when she is on her way to work. Elizabeth has to wait on the grounds of the school until noon when her session begins and, as the children are outside, they are hoping for dry and warm weather. There will be 42 children in each class for each session and Elizabeth hopes the teacher will not be too tired by the second session. Her teacher is fairly well trained, having passed grade 10 plus two years of teacher training. The teacher, however, finds the large classes and the long hours a strain and has little initiative for preparing the additional programs or apparatus which the limited facilities of the school really require.

Additionally, providing the school uniform has caused some difficulty for both the Nkosi and the Kanyile families. In 1973 it was estimated that school costs, including textbooks, for black families were $25 a year to maintain a child in lower primary, $42 a year for higher primary, $72 for lower secondary school, and $110 a year for high school. This is a heavy burden for the average family of four children with a monthly income of $180. However, if Elizabeth can survive the first two years when the dropout rate is particularly high, she will stand a better chance of getting at least a primary school diploma. Being able to read and write should help her obtain a better position or at least make a better marriage. Simon, on the other hand, is hoping that he will not only survive the heavy dropout rate of the first two years but that his family will be able to allow him to stay at school for as long as possible. His father is dead, and his mother has to support him and three other children. If any unforeseen difficulty arises, he may have to drop out in order to help support the family.

It must be understood that, despite the difficulties facing Simon and Elizabeth, being in a large urban area has its compensations educationally. It was estimated in 1973 that 72% of black children between 7 and 15 years old were at school, with the urban dweller having a distinct access advantage over his* rural counterpart.

Abram Samuels, a coloured (mulatto) boy, is 6 years old and his educational prospects are somewhat brighter now than before. He pays no fees at school, and since 1969 his textbooks, stationery, and basic equipment are supplied free. He has a much greater chance of reaching grade 12 than ever before although even now only 9.1% of coloured children do so. He, too, faces double session schooling, but because of the high dropout rate, double sessions are rarely needed above grade 3. This will mean spending four hours in the classroom and the rest of his school day outside working on subjects that do not require writing. Once Abram has enrolled, he will be required to attend school regularly until the end of any given year. Exemptions from this are allowed only in very special economic circumstances.

*For clarity and economy, we use the masculine form of pronouns throughout this publication when no specific gender is implied. While we recognize the trend away from this practice, we see no graceful alternative. We hope the reader will impute no sexist motives; certainly none are intended. —*The Editors*

Compulsory education is being introduced slowly grade by grade. Abram hopes he will be academically successful because he may then be permitted to enter the few commercial and technical courses available for coloureds. The shortage of courses for his people is a result of few teachers being well qualified in these areas. In addition, there is an increasing shortage of teachers as many are resigning to find work in other fields.

Nikki Lakay, also a 6-year-old, is starting school with Abram. She will have the same facilities open to her and will face the same difficulties. She hopes to be a nurse and is likely to be encouraged by her parents who, like a significantly increasing number in the coloured communities, have high aspirations for their children.

Penelope Brown is a 6-year-old white, English-speaking child of South African parents. Both parents are wealthy and well educated. She has had "educational toys" from birth and has attended a good nursery school. She is going to the school in her neighborhood, a typical upper middle-class suburb in the city of Pretoria, and her mother is delighted that the school has its own swimming pool. This means that Penelope will be able to keep up the swimming she learned when she was five. There are no double sessions at her school, and her teacher spent four years training at the Johannesburg College of Education after her matriculation (grade 12). Penelope does not pay tuition fees or purchase her books, but her mother helps in the school candy shop on Wednesday mornings. The school is built on a 20-acre site and has two basketball fields and six tennis courts. Penelope's parents hope she will show aptitude in some sport, as this is an important social consideration. She will study ballet and music as well, for her parents want to insure that she has a "well-rounded" education. The school she attends is planning an African language program to add to their programs in English and Afrikaans. A survey conducted in June, 1975, indicated that 82% of Afrikaners and 80% of English-speaking South Africans would be in favor of this. The difficulty, however, is to choose which black language to study, as well as to find well-trained teachers. Penelope will stay at school until she is 15, for the law does not allow her to leave before that age. Her parents are also hoping that she will complete high school with sufficiently high grades to obtain university entrance.

Johannes van Zyl, also white and 6 years old, lives on a farm just

outside of the small Karroo town of Colesburg. He, too, started his school career in 1976. But unlike Penelope's, his school is coeducational, and the language of instruction is Afrikaans, the other official language of South Africa. Although his school of 350 students drawn from a radius of about 25 miles is smaller than its urban counterpart, it nevertheless serves the children of the agricultural community well. The facilities, the caliber of the teachers, and the course offerings compare favorably with those offered to the children of the metropolitan areas. This is not surprising when one realizes that white education is controlled by the four respective provincial administrations, each of which aims at standardized education, both in quantity and quality, across urban and rural areas alike. Like Penelope, Johannes will stay on at school until he is at least 15 years old. His high school, too, will offer him every opportunity to advance to some form of higher education provided he demonstrates the requisite academic ability.

Indira Esat and Pardit Doolabh are also in their first year of school, but as descendants of Asian immigrants to South Africa at the turn of the century, they have to attend their own social group schools under the auspices of the Department of Indian Affairs. Although they are forced by the Group Areas Act to live in their own communities, educational fare and opportunities are not significantly different from those offered to the whites. The real difference will come, under present conditions, at the end of their schooling, when the occupational opportunities open to them will be determined by what is available within their own segregated communities. Job reservation as laid down by law will insure this. It should be noted here that all children of Asian extraction are the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs. One interesting exception to this rule is the Japanese student who is designated "white" and therefore receives his schooling in white schools.

Each of the eight children above can aspire to university education, for there are 16 such institutions available for the various ethnic groups. If a black, coloured, or Asian student cannot receive instruction in a particular course or degree at his own ethnic university, he may apply for admission to whichever institution offers the instruction, including one for white students.

It is one of the ironies of the South African situation that, upon arrival in the country, an immigrant student of European descent

immediately finds himself in the privileged white stream of education. This insures special attention to learning difficulties and whatever remedial teaching that is required. This stands in sharp contrast to the overwhelming odds facing the nonwhite students, particularly blacks, who seek a place in the sun in their own country.

The Shape of South African Education

The four education systems in South Africa each have their own controlling bodies, but they nevertheless share a number of common features. The blacks (or Bantu) are administered and controlled by the Department of Bantu Education, which is a national body. In like manner, the coloureds and the Asians are controlled by the Coloured Peoples' Representative Council and the Department of Indian Affairs. White education, on the other hand, is administered by each of the four respective provincial administrations—Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal, and Cape Province.

With the exception of the departments for whites, the present education departments are of relatively recent vintage, all being products of the nationalist government which came into power in 1948. It was this government which masterminded the apartheid—or separate development—policies. Much of what subsequently became entrenched in constitutional law had achieved de facto status prior to the election. But after its success at the polls, the government legalized and refined these positions.

From 1830 to about 1900, black education was almost entirely the concern of missionary bodies from Britain, France, Switzerland, and Germany. These were established missionary institutions, which normally included an elementary school, a secondary school, and a teacher-training college. Some trade or vocational schools were also established. State subsidies increased until 1954 when over 90% of the financing of "Native Education" came from public funds.

The Eiselen Commission on Native Education (1949-1951) laid the groundwork for the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Eiselen, for many years a Native Education Department inspector as well as a professor of anthropology, emphasized the need for the indigenous peoples

to retain their cultural heritage and identity and considered education the most appropriate means to accomplish this. His philosophy developed from his earliest years as the son of a missionary in the Eastern Transvaal. His ideas were in line with those expressed by his political colleagues then in power. In 1953, with the passing of the Bantu Education Act, the overall control of black education (with the exception of Roman Catholic schools) passed into the hands of the state.

The commission's target for the first 10 years was to insure that every child who could benefit from education *and* who was in reach of a school would enjoy at least four years of basic education. By 1973, there were 11,427 schools, 58,319 teachers, and 3,312,283 students in elementary school, the latter figure representing 72% of black children between the ages of 7 and 15 years. These figures show a fourfold increase since state control of black education was introduced. School attendance remains voluntary, but the introduction of compulsory education is likely to be seriously considered during the next five years. This will not occur on a national scale, but only in those areas where there are sufficient educational facilities to cope with the additional students.

As indicated previously, both coloured and Asian education have recently moved under separate controlling bodies. Coloureds were provided with education as long ago as 1658, only six years after the establishment of the first Dutch settlement under Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652. Following the Act of Union in 1909 creating the Union of South Africa, coloured education was a function of the Cape Provincial Administration until 1969 when administration passed to the Coloured Peoples' Representative Council. In 1974 there were 1,877 schools with 18,641 teachers serving the 563,789 coloured children. Although education is not universally compulsory, it is mandatory for students between 7 and 14 years of age who live within a given distance of educational facilities.

Asian education also followed the provincial pattern with the passage of the Act of Union in 1909. By 1974, there were 366 schools with 6,701 teachers serving 180,715 pupils. As in the case of the coloureds, education is compulsory for students between 7 and 14 years of age for those within reasonable access of schools. As with black and coloured education, schools of industries as well as special schools for the deaf, the blind, and the mentally and physically

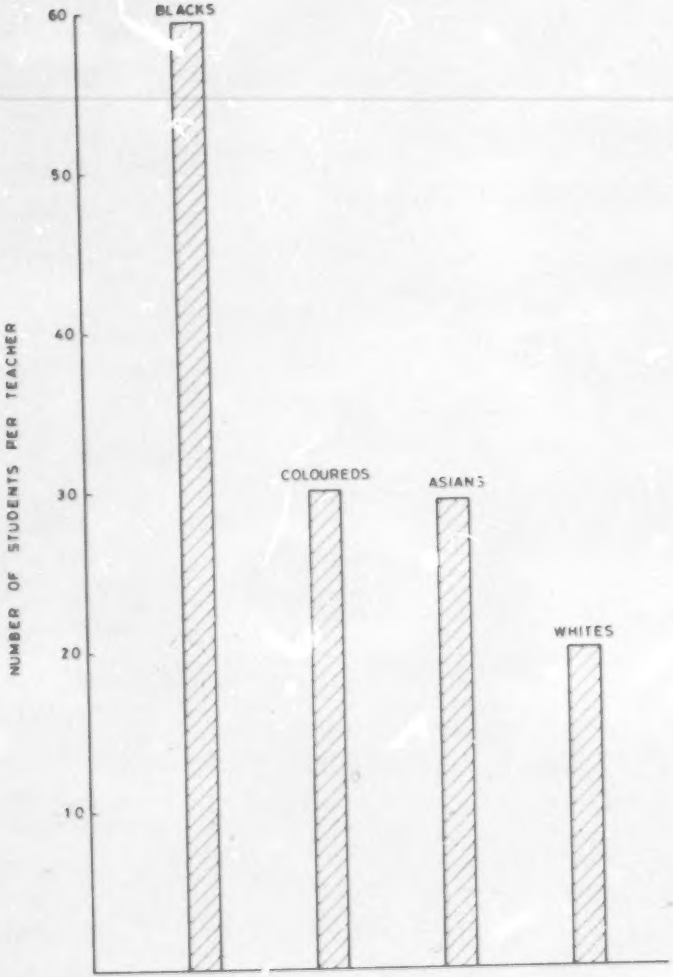

FIGURE 1
Student-Teacher Ratio by Ethnic Group, 1974

handicapped are being increasingly provided. Still, they remain woefully inadequate for the demand in these areas.

Ninety percent of white students are in schools controlled by the provincial administrations, while the balance attend private institutions administered by religion-affiliated or community bodies. Education is compulsory for all students between 7 and 16 years old, or until such time as a student has successfully completed his Junior Certificate examination (grade 10). In 1974, more than 840,000 students were attending white schools in South Africa, taught by some 41,958 teachers (see Figure 1). The medium of instruction was generally the mother tongue and this was required through grade 10. All students are required by law to learn both official languages—English and Afrikaans.

As a result of the above requirements, schools tend to be separated into those serving the English-speaking communities and those serving the Afrikaans-speaking communities. In urban areas both elementary and secondary schools tend to be single-sex schools, but a recent trend reveals a gradual shift from this traditional pattern toward coeducation. In the rural areas, where distances are often vast, schools are most likely to be coeducational because of numbers. Certain schools may even offer instruction in both official languages for the same reason, but this is not common.

In addition to the schools offering a wide range of basic courses, white students have access to other types of schooling, too. These include 81 vocational schools, 18 schools of industries catering to approximately 3,000 students, as well as special schools for the mentally handicapped, three schools for epileptics, 11 for the cerebral palsied, six for the deaf, two for the blind, four for the physically handicapped, and one for the autistic. Preschool education is also receiving increasing attention from the provincial authorities and is located principally in the major metropolitan centers.

All students in South Africa—black, coloured, Asian, and white—have as their ultimate goal the receipt of the Matriculation Certificate at the end of the twelfth year of schooling. This diploma represents the key to the good life, whether that means entrance to some form of higher education, vocational training, or a place in the world of work. Although there are six different examining bodies—the four provincial, the Department of National Education, and the Joint Matriculation Board—a candidate, irrespective of ethnic

Table 1
Educational Levels Attained by the Four Principal Ethnic Groups in South Africa, 1972-1973

GROUP	STANDARD 6[1] (8 years)	JUNIOR CERTIFICATE[1] (10 years)	MATRICULATION[1] (12 years)	FIRST DEGREE[2]	ADVANCED GRADUATE DEGREES[2]
BLACKS	150,324	27,841	3,393	373	141
COLOUREDS	12,000[3]	9,344	2,064	123	44
ASIANS	10,938	8,243	3,001	294	116
WHITES	70,000	60,000[3]	38,000[3]	7,683	4,356

[1]1973 figures
[2]1972 figures
[3]Figures not available—estimates

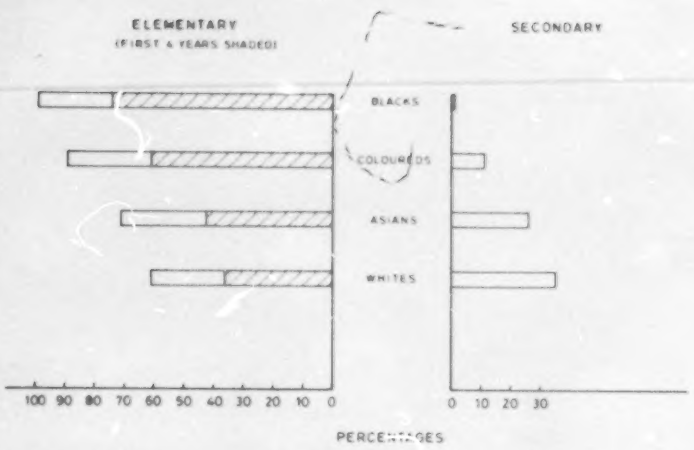

FIGURE 2
Percentage Distribution of Enrollment by Ethnic Group, 1974

group, has equal access in terms of writing the same examination and, upon successful completion of the requirements, being awarded a diploma of equal value and recognition. A successful student may be awarded either a school leaving certificate (the equivalent of a high school diploma), or a university entrance Matriculation Certificate. The latter normally means that the student has completed six years of study in mathematics or a science (chemistry, physics, or biology), his native language, a second language, and a fourth subject selected from a prescribed group including history, geography, a third language, and a range of business and technical courses. The student is required to complete courses in six different subject areas in order to receive the diploma.

While the requirements for the Matriculation Certificate are uniform, there are nevertheless great differences in the obstacles facing students of each ethnic group en route to the matriculation examination. This results in predictable variation in educational attainment (see Table 1). For example, in 1974, 3,393 black, 2,064 coloured, 3,001 Asian, and in excess of 38,000 white students success-

fully completed matriculation requirements. Of the whites, more than 18,000 gained university entrance. This represents one of the largest university-bound groups of students in the world, second only to the United States. When one is reminded that only 17 of every 10,000 black students who enter school reach the matriculation year, the gap between the two groups far exceeds any rational justification (see Figure 2).

All students in South Africa must pass a number of examinations on their way toward completion of the coveted 12-year education. In order to meet these requirements, the path is broken at a number of points: Elementary education is seen in two sequences—the lower primary (grades 1 through 3), and upper primary (grades 4 through 7). Secondary education also encompasses two cycles—grades 8 through 10, culminating in the Junior Certificate examination for those leaving school or proceeding to commercial/technical/vocational courses, and grades 11 and 12, culminating in the Senior Certificate or the Matriculation.

Training of Teachers

The disparity of educational offerings between the various population groups is particularly well illustrated by the quality of training received by respective teachers and the numbers of them produced by the various institutions (see Figure 3).

Eighty-six percent of the 61,000 black teachers in service in 1974 were teaching elementary classes. Of these, 17% had received no professional training whatsoever, while another 40% had not reached Standard 8 (grade 10). These persons have been thrust into their roles by the overwhelming demand for assistance in the black schools. However dedicated these teachers may be, and however praiseworthy their efforts, questions can be raised about the quality of their contribution as a result of their lack of adequate professional training. In 1974 there were 11,562 black teachers in training at 42 teacher training institutions. Almost 90% of this group will become elementary teachers for which they will prepare by working toward a Primary School Teacher's Certificate (PSTC). This involves two years of professional training after the successful completion of Junior Certificate (grade 10) of basic schooling. Two-thirds of these teacher trainees are women students. In the same year, 325 students were preparing for the Junior Secondary Teacher's Certificate (JSTC). The goal for the period 1976-1980 is to prepare 7,000 teachers per year with the JSTC of which 450 will be equipped to teach the first three years of secondary school. But in 1973 there were only 1,092 teachers in black education who held a Junior Certificate. With a school population very close to four million and the inevitable exploding population characteristic of a developing country, it is doubtful that the effort is even keeping pace.

In order to meet the challenge, much emphasis is placed upon

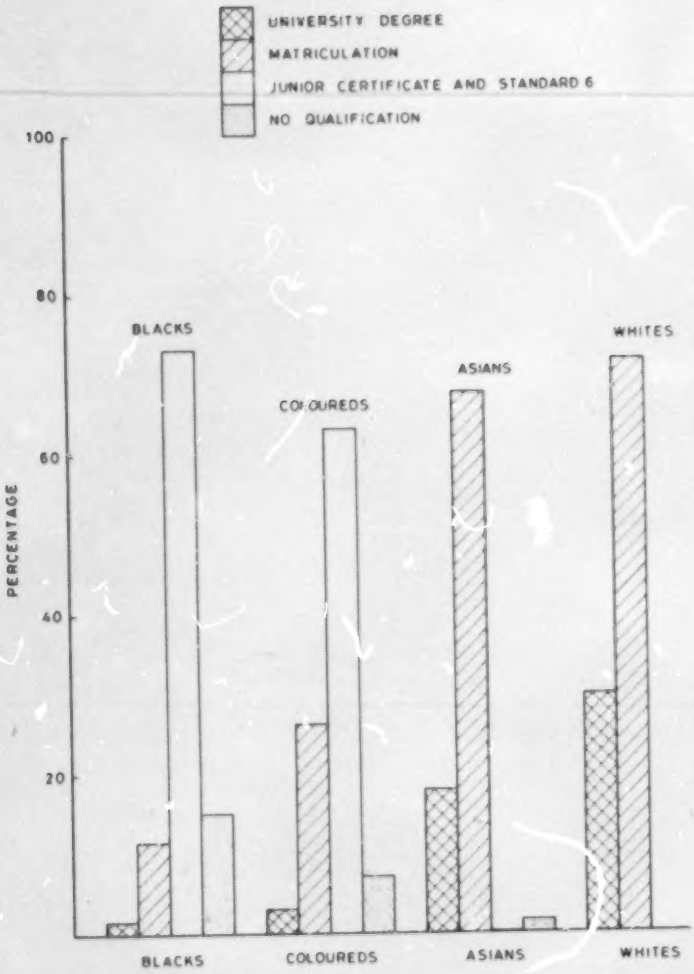

FIGURE 3
Educational Level Attained by Teachers by Ethnic Group, 1974

inservice training to upgrade the skills of those already teaching. For this purpose there is a permanent, well-equipped center outside Pretoria, where one- and two-week courses continue throughout the year. In addition, teacher training is offered to those who will teach in the emerging trade, industrial, commercial, and technical schools.

The position of coloured teachers is not significantly different from that of their black colleagues. In 1973, 72% of the country's 18,420 coloured teachers had not completed a high school education and only 4% held university degrees. Fifteen institutions prepare coloured teachers. Of these, seven (all serving women) prepare students for elementary teaching, six (serving men and women) for junior secondary work, one college of advanced technical education prepares teachers in commercial and technical courses at the secondary level, and one university is responsible for the preparation of all high school teachers. In 1972, there were 3,457 students in professional education courses of whom 105 were in the commercial and technical fields. Here again, the problem of an exploding birth rate is present. The coloureds record an annual growth rate of 2.9% which is greater than blacks and Asians and more than double the rate of the whites.

There is a distinct shift in the distribution of Asian teachers, with 27% in elementary classes and 49% in lower secondary teaching. These teachers receive their training at two colleges, Springfield in Natal and Fordsburg in the Transvaal. Those preparing for the commercial and technical teaching attend the M.L. Sultan College of Advanced Technology. High school teachers, like their coloured counterparts, attend the university for one year of professional education following the completion of the first degree.

In contrast to the other population groups, white students have as their teachers persons who have had a sound academic and professional preparation. Elementary teachers must have completed their Senior Certificate (grade 12) plus three or four years of professional education as minimum qualifications. Similarly, all secondary teachers are required to have a Junior Certificate with a major and a minor in teaching subjects plus one year of professional graduate education. In addition, they have access to such advanced degrees as B.Ed. (two years), M.Ed. (three years), Ed.D., and Ph.D. While these degrees are available to all ethnic groups, a white person

by virtue of his privileged position in South African society, is far more likely to aspire to and attain these levels than are others.

There are 15 colleges of education in the country catering to the preparation of white elementary teachers, and 10 universities (five for Afrikaans-speaking students, four for English-speaking, and one with dual language instruction) prepare secondary school teachers. Again one notes the disparity between the breadth and depth of educational institutions designed to meet the needs of whites and those which serve the black, coloured, and Asian populations.

In spite of the relatively strong position of white professional education preparation, it is not without its problems. Two in particular are proving to be grounds for concern. The first is the increasing "feminization" of the profession with the result that a male teacher has become a rarity in elementary schools. The position is not likely to change in the immediate future as there were five female students to every two males receiving professional training in education in 1975. The picture is even bleaker for the English-speaking communities, where the ratio of male to female students in teacher preparation courses is one to 15. The position in secondary education is considerably more balanced, but even there the trend is toward a large majority of women teachers in all-boys schools. The basic reason for this growing problem of "feminization" is the declining attraction of teaching as a profession for men. Business and industry successfully compete with education for the talented young men of the country because of their more attractive salaries, the promise of rapid advancement, and freedom from petty bureaucracy characteristic of the provincial school administrations. The move to industry and business by men is most characteristic of the English-speaking South African, but it is also not uncommon among his Afrikaans-speaking colleagues. The latter are less likely to be lost to the teaching profession, probably because the social image of the teacher remains relatively high in Afrikaans-speaking circles.

The second problem has a more serious immediate impact than the first, although its origin is the same. This is the increasing percentage of secondary school teachers who are called upon to instruct in courses for which they have received no high school training. Examples are English, where only 32% of the teachers in grades 11 and 12 have university qualifications in the subject, geography with 25%, French with 29%, and physical education with

40% of the teachers qualified in the subject. Furthermore, the future picture is anything but promising. Of the 509 prospective secondary teachers in 1974 at Transvaal universities (455 Afrikaans-speaking and 54 English-speaking), only nine had majored in geography, three in chemistry and physics, three in French, and 50 in English.

Finally, an analogous problem concerning language instruction is found in the elementary schools. With the English-speaking community increasingly turning away from the teaching profession, fewer and fewer English-speaking children are being taught by English-speaking teachers. It is by no means uncommon for an English-speaking child, particularly in a rural area or a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking urban area, to have completed elementary school with instruction only by Afrikaans-speaking teachers. While English speakers owe a debt of gratitude to these teachers from the other white language group, without whom their children would have received no education, the fact does remain that many of these dedicated teachers have less than a proficient grasp of the English language. There can be little question that these children are not, in all instances, receiving an adequate foundation in their mother tongue.

Higher Education

South Africa's 15 universities are autonomous institutions, but nevertheless they still rely to varying extents on governmental subsidies. As with everything else in education, they adhere to the law of the land by providing higher education to each of the country's population groups. Ten universities cater to the needs of the white communities. Five of these are for Afrikaans-speaking students and four for English-speaking students, while one university offers courses in both official languages. These institutions provide instruction for approximately 100,000 students of whom approximately 30% are English-speaking. These universities cover the same fields of study normally associated with the world's major institutions, and the graduates enjoy international recognition of their degrees.

Additionally there are three black universities (one for each of the three major language groups), one for the coloureds, and one for Asians. Finally, there is a multiracial institution, the University of South Africa, which provides instruction by correspondence for all racial groups covering a wide range of degrees and diplomas at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. This is now the largest higher education institution in South Africa with more than 40,000 students. In earlier years the University of South Africa provided the examining and coordinating body for the other universities during their formative years.

Normally a higher education institution is established in an area where the need warrants it. For a number of years, the institution will remain a constituent college of the University of South Africa during which period the latter oversees the total operation and sets the academic and professional standards for the fledgling college. When

the college reaches that level of maturity at which it can stand on its own, it applies for full university status. A university charter is bestowed upon the institution by a special Act of Parliament. It is interesting to note that all universities have chosen to retain the concept of an external examiner in order to audit the academic standards of its students. This is not a formal tie between given universities but between members of various departments of all universities.

The five nonwhite universities, like their white counterparts before them, have all followed the path outlined above. The Asian university at Durban-Westville had an enrollment of over 2,300 students in 1974, while another 2,500 Asians were studying at other universities. The three black universities had a total enrollment of about 3,500 students with a similar number enrolled as external students at the University of South Africa. The University of the Western Cape, the institution for coloured students, had an enrollment of 1,600 students in 1973. It should be remembered that any student, irrespective of ethnic group, who wishes to follow a course not available at his particular university, has full access to whatever university provides that field of study. This is particularly true of students wishing to embark upon a program in medicine.

It may be argued that qualified students in South Africa have equal access to higher education and that their qualifications carry equal currency. However, the blacks, Asians, coloureds, and many white academics, particularly among English speakers, argue vehemently that this is not the case. They see the educational situation as the natural outcome of the blueprint of apartheid, or separate development, to insure that every individual will be prepared for his station in life in the South African context as predetermined by the color of his skin.

The five nonwhite institutions concerned, all of which have gained university status in the last five years, are viewed by their respective ethnic groups to be poor imitations of their white counterparts. The argument is not against the buildings and facilities as such (they are frequently of a high order), but against the quality of instruction and the caliber of the instructors. Black students, particularly, have strong feelings in this regard. Tradition dictates that these ethnic institutions be staffed by lecturers of the same ethnic origin as the students. But the students argue that, however praise-

worthy this may be in the long term, the recent emergence of blacks into this field means that they have neither the expertise nor experience of their former white colleagues whom they have been replacing. Graduates of the universities of Fort Hare, Zululand, and the North, for example, jealously guard their diplomas granted during the days when these institutions were constituent colleges of the University of South Africa. Since the granting of independent status, graduates of these institutions are not held in the same high regard by their fellow blacks as were their predecessors and there is some evidence that white employers are somewhat cynical about the value of their diplomas.

The counter argument is that standards are maintained by the external examiner, nearly always an academic from a white university, and that this is just the early period through which all institutions pass until they gain full recognition by peers. The blacks, however, think that a benevolent paternalism is the result of passing students who have not demonstrated the requisite competence and, in any case, it is part of a plan to insure a lower level of graduate. As a result of this attitude, many blacks opt to become external students of the University of South Africa because they believe that ultimately their diplomas will have equal weight with those of a white student. Many Asian and coloured students express similar views and maintain that higher education should be open to those who are qualified to benefit from it. They also contend that each individual should have the right to choose whatever institution is in his best interest and, finally, that he should be evaluated irrespective of the color of his skin.

Finance

There is probably no more striking criterion of disparity between the four education systems than the financial support each receives. Although much of the explanation can be found in the historical development of the country, and although there are currently belated efforts to overcome the massive gaps between the four ethnic groups, the blunt truth is that it is largely a case of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Proponents of the separate development policy in its purest form originally envisaged that each racial group would be responsible for the financing of its own educational system. However, it became apparent very early in the days of the new Department of Bantu Education created by the 1953 act that such a scheme would be woefully inadequate. The tax base for each group was quite unrealistic to meet the demands of the exploding school-age population. Regardless of this, the formula has remained basically the same, with amendment where necessary. The economic system cannot provide a sufficient base for the funding of universal education. With the power and money invested in the small elite white community, South Africa is both a modern industrial society and at the same time a subsistence community more common to the Third World.

State spending on each child in school starkly demonstrates the inequalities among ethnic groups (see Figure 4). Whereas in 1974 an average of $580 was spent on each white child (ranging from $464 per student in the Transvaal to $668 in Natal), $182 was spent on each Asian child, $130 on each coloured child, and $34 on each black child. But these statistics tell only part of the story. If the money put aside for black children were divided among all those who *should be* in school, the share per black child would drop to $14! (An interest-

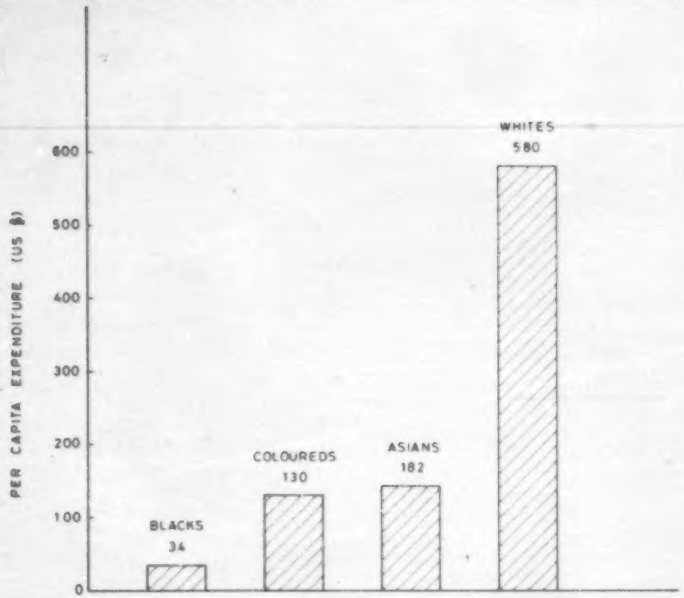

FIGURE 4
Per Capita Expenditure on Education by Ethnic Group, 1974

ing and ironic footnote is that the South African government spends three times as much on the education of blacks in South-West Africa (Namibia) as it does on the blacks of its own country.)

These figures tell a good deal of the story in terms of buildings and facilities available to the children of the different ethnic groups in South Africa. One obvious area of deep resentment and disillusionment is in the size of teacher salaries. Since teachers of each ethnic group are restricted to the teaching of their respective social communities, their salaries are subject to the department in which they serve. As a result, a black teacher with the same academic qualifications and experience as his white colleague is likely to receive a salary approximately 65% of what he would receive if he were white. Coloured and Asian teachers are similarly treated, but they earn close to 90% of their white counterparts. It should be added that although a small number of whites do teach in coloured,

Asian, and black schools because of the grave shortage of teachers in these institutions, they are still paid "white" salaries. In fairness, it must be reported that serious consideration and some action has been taken in the last three years to remove these discrepancies and there is every indication that these will disappear in the foreseeable future.

At the higher education levels, the discrepancy in the financing of institutions is less marked, and the facilities available to all population groups are at least at adequate levels. It is true that demand has been considerably less at these levels because there has been only a very small post-secondary student population up to this time. Discrepancies of a more subtle nature are nevertheless still present, some of which will be discussed in the next section.

Language

There is probably no more emotion-laden issue in the South African setting than language. Because language is a symbol of a man's heritage, when it is threatened or brought into disrepute it becomes a personal attack on the individual himself. The problem, however, goes beyond even this simple generalization.

John Beattie (*Other Cultures*, p. 76) states that "innumerable difficulties and confusions, both theoretical and practical, have arisen because members of one culture have found it almost impossible to see things as they are seen by members of another culture." He goes on to explain the difficulties inherent in this "seeing" process when different value systems cause people in the same country to view the same events from totally different perspectives. If this is true in most cultures, it is even more applicable in a country such as South Africa where the linguistic composition of the society is so complex.

Table 2 shows native language by race in 1970 and gives some indication of the multiplicity of languages spoken in South Africa. Certain distribution characteristics are not included in the table, such as the predominance of English as an urban language and of Afrikaans as a rural language (except among the coloureds). One may also notice the predominance of Xhosa and Zulu among the blacks and the fact that there are 20 languages in all. In a country which has stressed nationalism and ethnic purity, this can have a particularly divisive effect.

To understand language as a divisive element in South Africa, it is helpful to examine the history of the Afrikaans language.

At the turn of the century, Afrikaans was coming into full use, and the Afrikaner fought against English administrators, such as Milner,

Table 2
Languages Spoken at Home by the Four Principal Ethnic Groups, 1970

LANGUAGES	NUMBER	PERCENT
WHITES		
Afrikaans	3,773,282	56.90
English	1,404,479	37.22
Afrikaans and English	39,457	1.05
Nederlands	20,787	0.55
German	51,021	1.35
Other (including Greek, Portuguese and Italian)	110,636	2.93
TOTAL	5,399,662	100.00
BLACKS		
Xhosa	3,988,404	26.02
Zulu	4,085,100	26.64
Swazi	483,072	3.16
Sepedi	1,634,134	10.64
Northern Ndebele	182,537	1.19
Southern Ndebele	225,456	1.47
Tswana	1,704,202	11.12
Seshoehoe	1,387,613	9.05
Shangaan	664,523	4.34
Venda	364,789	2.38
Other	610,145	3.98
TOTAL	15,329,975	100.00
COLOUREDS[1]	2,021,430	100.00
ASIANS[2]	618,140	100.00
GRAND TOTAL	23,369,207	100.00

Note: 1970 Language data for coloureds and Asians not available.

[1]In 1960, 85% of coloureds spoke Afrikaans at home, 14% spoke English, and 1% were bilingual.

[2]In 1960, 28% of Asians spoke Tamil at home, 24% Hindu, 17% English, 13% Gujarati, and 2% Afrikaans.

who imposed English upon them after the Boer War, and against the Dutch, who regarded the new language as a bastardization of their own native tongue. Afrikaners believe firmly in the right of all people to live and be educated in their own languages. The attempt by the nationalist government to impose Afrikaans upon the blacks, therefore, is a surprising contradiction of their own philosophy. President Steyn of the former Boer Orange Free State stated emphatically at the conclusion of the Boer War when the language of his people was denied and they were forced to learn English:

> The language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is the language of the slave.

For many of the blacks, Afrikaans is thought of as the language of the oppressor, while the fact that English is widely used in commerce and industry makes it more popular.

As indicated earlier, the government policy is that every individual must be instructed in his native language but must also be competent in the two official languages, English and Afrikaans. For the black child this means his first eight years of schooling will be in the vernacular; that is, one of the seven African languages approved by the Department of Bantu Education. When the black student enters upon his secondary education, however, he is taught in either English or Afrikaans. In high school students are taught in English and Afrikaans and their mother tongue becomes the third language of instruction. They study the same subjects as all other South African students. Generally three subjects are taught in English and three subjects in Afrikaans. Differing interpretations of this policy resulted in the initial riots in Soweto on June 16, 1976.

Even though the 50-50 basis in the use of the official languages has been applicable in secondary schools since 1955, the Department of Bantu Education concluded in its 1968 annual report that the policy could not be fully implemented because of a shortage of teachers who were thoroughly proficient in both official languages. For these reasons, only 26% of black schools have been able to comply with the official policy.

In March, 1974, the homeland leaders in consultation with the prime minister and other ministers proposed that the mother tongue of blacks should be the language of instruction in black schools in white areas. They claimed that more than 1,320,000 black pupils in white areas had to contend with a burden described as "morally

indefensible and educationally unsound." Although it was agreed that a full inquiry should take place, the official policy remained unaltered. Indeed, the Department of Bantu Education apparently went a step further than the official policy by insisting which subjects should be taught in each language. Mathematics, social studies, and the physical science courses were allocated to Afrikaans instruction. English was to be used for practical subjects such as homecraft, needlework, woodwork, metalwork, art, and agricultural service. Although principals might apply for exemption from this ruling, many applications were turned down, and pressure was put on both teachers and principals to conform. Beginning in February, 1976, overt evidence of rising resentment in the form of student, teacher, and parent protests became an almost daily occurrence. In spite of the growing pressure, there was virtually no official reaction and the series of events predictably erupted into tragic violence on June 16.

Quite apart from the fact that the black student is compared with his coloured, Asian, and white counterparts in having to meet three instead of two language requirements in order to obtain high school graduation and university entrance, his desire to learn English in preference to Afrikaans is based on practical considerations. These include the fact that English is the African peoples' cultural lingua franca and principal medium of communication. Textbooks and technical information are published principally in English and come from overseas; daily newspapers, magazines, and advertising are predominantly in English; public and private black libraries carry mostly English books; most jazz and other recordings in urban black homes are in English; black children are avid movie-goers and all the films they see are in English; all five African teachers associations use English for their meetings and correspondence; all universities and colleges attended by blacks have English as their language of instruction; and the numerous sports, political, and other organizations all use English exclusively.

In all its complexity, and as it is interwoven with the issue of racial prejudice, language also has a bearing on the thinking of blacks with regard to separate universities. Although instruction in these institutions is in English, black students see themselves purposely and systematically cut off from the main stream of academic thought. They contend that if they were able to attend nonracial universities, they would not only have direct contact with all South Africans, but

that they would have access to top scholars both in the universities and overseas. They would also be in direct contact with the professional literature, all in English, on a far wider scale than is possible in their present institutions. The latter they regard very much as second class and much emphasis is placed upon the poor quality of lecturers. It is claimed that in the drive to make the universities "black" in every sense of the word, instruction and administration are less than adequate. It should also be added that while it is true the degrees from these institutions are given equal recognition for advanced graduate work with those awarded in white universities, the white employer tends to view these black diplomas in a less favorable light than those from other universities. It is therefore not surprising that many black students prefer to work full time and take courses from the University of South Africa, a correspondence university, with full recognition in South Africa for both black and white students. They feel that their qualifications will have much wider acceptance and will enable them to move into a much larger "community of scholars."

While language is a symbol of every individual's culture and heritage, and this is particularly true of English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, the position of the black is considerably more complex and he almost inevitably leans towards the language with the greatest outside impact.

Implications for the Future

In the final analysis, an education system should be judged in the context of the society it purports to serve. The relevant question then becomes: Will the present education system of South Africa support the future development of the country?

Politically, the system is completely consistent with the ideology of separate development of each of the racial groups in South Africa. In this sense, it is achieving its objectives. Economically, however, a strong case can be made for the thesis that the concept of separate development, and the education system which supports it, is counter productive to the development of the country.

In July, 1974, Professor C. H. Wyndham, director of the Human Resources Laboratory of the Chamber of Mines of South Africa, painted a very gloomy picture of South Africa's future from a man-power point of view. Describing the amount of money spent on black education as "disastrous," Wyndham warned that massive and innovative changes in the educational system would have to be made if the country is to develop the necessary number of skilled workers to maintain an economic growth of 5.5% and so avoid unemployment and social unrest. (Mid-1976 shows a 2.5% growth, escalating unemployment, and violent social unrest.)

Wyndham went on to point out that by 1980 the projected national population was 29 million, of whom 10.4 million would be economically active. Whites would constitute only 1.7 million of this number. He further estimated that 36% of the total pool of workers would have to be skilled, and 6.5% would have to be in the professional, technical, managerial, and administrative categories. Even if all the whites in the economically active ranks were to fill the skilled categories, there would be a shortage of two million persons!

As immigration rates hardly scratch the surface in this respect, these jobs will have to be filled by South Africans from the coloured, Asian, and black peoples.

In the present circumstances the education system has failed miserably to turn out the necessary numbers of ethnic minority people with the requisite skills to meet the growing manpower needs of the country. Although the proponents of separate development maintain that it is possible to reconcile the economic needs of a region with the development of its individual and segregated community components, evidence continues to accumulate which suggests otherwise.

When comparing South Africa's position with the rest of the African continent, however, a favorable picture emerges. South Africa, Libya, and Tunisia top the continent in their national percentages of the total population at school, each recording approximately 20%. South Africa, with approximately 100,000 students attending universities, is second only to the United Arab Republic in provision for higher education. Literacy figures give further confirmation of South Africa's relatively favorable position on the African continent. With 52% of persons over the age of 15 years literate, South Africa has a better record than any other country, and even the so-called "homelands" planned under the separate development policy surpass the majority of African countries in this regard. For example, the Transkei and Kwa-Zulu boast 20% literacy. The former was granted independent status in October, 1976, and the latter is slated for independence in February, 1978. They therefore surpass such countries as Zambia, Uganda, Tanzania, Morocco, Liberia, and Nigeria in this area.

Regardless of how favorably it compares with the rest of the continent's, the South African educational system remains inadequate in terms of producing the human resources necessary to meet economic objectives.

Dropout rates constitute the most crippling factor. Almost 70% of all blacks attending school fail to go beyond the fourth year, while only 6% of black students are in secondary school. Similarly, 67% of coloured males and 72% of coloured females complete seven or less years of schooling, while only 26% of Asian males and 12% of Asian females continue their studies beyond 10 years of schooling. Even the whites experience a serious dropout problem. Virtually all whites

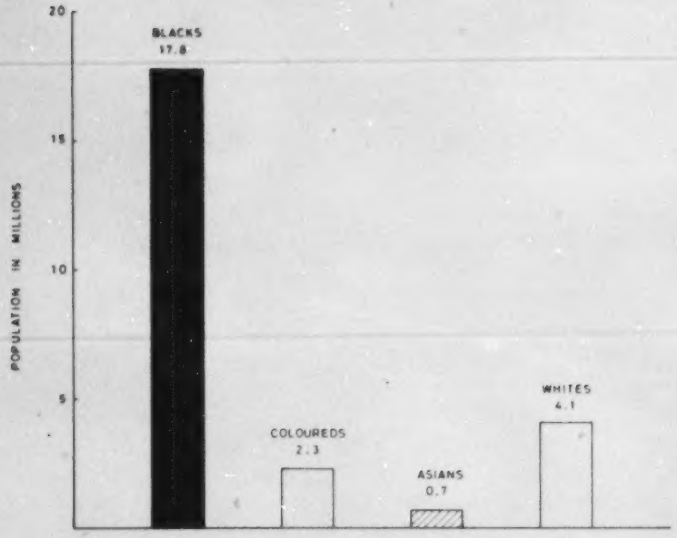

FIGURE 5
Population of South Africa by Ethnic Group, 1975

complete eight years of schooling, but only one-third remain in school through 12 years. Probably the greatest tragedy in this waste of human potential is that each year an estimated 208,000 black students who would meet the usual criteria of "giftedness" are not in school.

As a result of these severe dropout rates, about 90% of South Africans in the economically active age groups (15 to 64 years) who hold university degrees are white. Furthermore, this is achieved in spite of the fact that whites constitute only 17% of the total population (see Figure 5). Asiatics produce 4.5% of the graduates, followed by blacks with 2.6% (although they make up 71% of the total population) and coloured peoples with 1.9%.

Obviously, a complete reordering of priorities is essential to prevent South Africa from sliding back in its path toward full development as a modern industrialized state. The greatest educa-

tional concern, apart from the desperate need for qualified teachers, is the lack of adequate facilities. Building costs are escalating and impeding progress in this direction. Although the government has made notable progress in recent years, it cannot be expected to shoulder the financial burden alone. Since 1974, industry and members of the public have come forward in increasing numbers to support newspaper funds to build schools in black townships. In the black township of Soweto just outside Johannesburg, over 50 schools have been erected in the last two years through these efforts. The road ahead remains a long and tortuous one, but there appears to be a growing realization that facilities create demand and not vice versa. The stakes are high, for the very survival of the country is in the balance.

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